and to provide a museum for preserving and exhibiting them persisted from sources outside and within the park.

No advocate was more tenacious than Superintendent Rickner. His son-in-law Fred Jeep, whom he employed as a park ranger, was a dedicated pot hunter.[42] Like most pot hunters he lacked concern for the data that would make the artifacts of scientific value, but for the most part he apparently regarded his finds as park property rather than a source of personal gain. Rickner called for a museum to display Jeep's growing collection. In 1914 he complained to a Colorado congressman about the repeated delays in appropriating funds for development "until the improvement of the park has become a joke, and people here are skeptical about anything being done . . . ,"[43] The congressman introduced a bill in 1915 to provide for building a park headquarters and museum in Mancos, but no action resulted.

Mark Daniels, general superintendent of national parks in 1914-15, became Rickner's next target. He urged Daniels to come see a cliff dwelling—named Daniels' House in his honor—newly discovered by Jeep and asked him for a cabinet to display the artifacts Jeep was extracting from it. This effort created an echo in the department's annual report calling for a museum, "even of the smallest kind," for Mesa Verde. In September 1915 Rickner directed his appeal for a museum to Stephen Mather, then acting as assistant to the secretary of the interior for park matters. "It has been a matter of wonder to tourists, and a disappointment to them, that there was no collection for them to examine . . . ," he wrote.[44]

Mather's initial response was undoubtedly disappointing but signally perceptive. He recalled a 1911 ruling that materials collected in connection with excavations and investigations in the park must go to the National Museum, but he suggested the possibility of arranging to display some duplicates. "In case it is found practicable to permit duplicate specimens to be kept in the park, I have to request to be advised as to exactly how they are to be preserved, at what place and in whose custody," he added. "Also whether it would be possible for the present park force to have the same properly marked and catalogued so that the traveling public in the reservation may know exactly what they are."[45] A year later Mather evidently distinguished between specimens recovered during official work on the ruins that had to go to the National Museum and those obtained by other means such as gift, purchase, or even Jeep's spare-time pot hunting. His 1916 report to the secretary urged construction of a museum at Mesa Verde and an active accession program to recover artifacts that had been removed from the park.[46]

In September 1916 Rickner asked Robert B. Marshall, Daniels' successor as superintendent of national parks, for approval to build an exhibit case. He reinforced the request by sending along as gifts a small

ceramic vessel and a stone ax from Jeep's collection. Rickner was allowed $22 for the needed case.[47] He installed it in the ranger station, a new log cabin located near the canyon rim where its large porch gave a fine view of Spruce Tree House. The next year an Interior Department inspector looked into the situation at Mesa Verde. "The Ranger Station . . . is used as a bedroom for Mr. and Mrs. Jeep and as a laundry for the camping company [Mrs. Jeep's concession] and on the porch, lying in the open, are a great many curios taken from the ruins," he reported.[48] Horace Albright, then assistant director of the National Park Service, visited soon afterward, and some changes followed promptly. Among them was the transformation of the ranger station into the museum Rickner had promoted so assiduously.

The park completed the conversion by the spring of 1918. One room then contained four wall cases and an aisle case displaying the prehistoric artifacts. The other room with a fireplace provided a lounge for visitors and space in which Fewkes could offer his evening lectures. This room also had an exhibit of twelve large framed photographs of Mesa Verde donated by the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad. Mather noted this accomplishment with some enthusiasm. He rated the museum "one of the most interesting features of the reservation . . . thoroughly enjoyed by the traveling public" and "only second in value of interest to the prehistoric dwellings themselves."[49]

C. Frank Brockman, a student of Park Service interpretive activity, considered the establishment of this museum as "perhaps the most important single event in the early history of National Park Service interpretation."[50] Here the Service directorate observed and acknowledged the educational effectiveness of a site museum in a park and shortly obtained valuable insights into curatorial problems and standards. In fact, the Mesa Verde museum in 1918 was a not very creditable assortment of undocumented specimens gathered in defiance of archeological practice and deposited in display cases without proper order or explanation. In 1919 Fewkes and his assistant, Earl Linton, took time to work with Jeep to record as much information as he could remember about where and when he had found the artifacts. Two years later a new superintendent promised to keep after Jeep to complete the catalogue.[51]

The Park Service replaced Superintendent Rickner in 1921 with an exceptionally well-qualified archeologist. Jesse Nusbaum, appointed in spite of political pressure for other candidates, had worked for years with Edgar Lee Hewett in the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico. He had helped in an archeological survey at Mesa Verde as early as 1907 and had repaired Balcony House under Hewett's direction in 1910-11. He was knowledgeable, energetic, and versatile and had a wife with artistic talent. He promptly put a stop to Jeep's pot hunting and set out to make the park museum respectable. As he wrote Mather, "We want a

museum here that can stand the acid test of the scientific man . . . ,"[52] The standards of curatorial work and exhibition he had in mind were those he was familiar with at the Museum of New Mexico, the Museum of the American Indian in New York, and the National Museum.

The park museum obviously ranked high in the new superintendent's priorities. During the winter of 1921-22 Mrs. Nusbaum with the help of a ranger "cleaned and reinstalled the museum collections according to the most modern museum methods . . . ." This was accomplished while the Nusbaums were also designing and building a residence so the superintendent could work in the park year round and were preparing a complete new scheme for the development of park facilities. At the same time they designed and constructed new furniture for the museum and the superintendent's new house. When rain within a few months of his arrival brought many flowers into bloom, he had specimens of more than a hundred species collected, identified, and prepared for display in the museum. He also laid the ground for a new fire-safe museum building.[53]

Stella M. Leviston of San Francisco made her first visit to Mesa Verde in 1921. She enjoyed her stay and offered the park $1,000 to pay for a suitable stone gateway at the entrance. Nusbaum persuaded her that the park needed an adequate museum building more than a gateway. She agreed, doubled the amount of her gift and, as plans matured, added at least another $1,000 to ensure construction of the first wing. Her generosity and the superintendent's zeal attracted other donors including John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who matched her beneficence. With a "fireproof" building clearly in prospect Nusbaum included two pertinent recommendations in his annual report: that the National Museum return its Mesa Verde specimens to the park and that all archeological artifacts collected from the park in the future become park property.[54] The first unit of the new museum opened in 1925.

Under Nusbaum the museum and its collections continued to expand and the exhibits to improve, even without the return of material from the Smithsonian. He assigned and trained personnel to carry on curatorial and preparation work and to operate the museum. When he left the Park Service temporarily in 1930 to head the new Laboratory of Anthropology Rockefeller funded at Santa Fe, the Mesa Verde Museum remained in the care of a well-prepared staff. Responsibility for the museum fell particularly to Paul R. Franke, park naturalist and later assistant superintendent and superintendent. He in turn was ably assisted and followed in care of the museum by Donald C. Watson, a seasonal historian who in time headed the permanent park interpretive staff.

During the 1930s they continually developed and refined the exhibits using the skills of the regular staff, personnel of the park's Civilian Conservation Corps camp, and other emergency relief workers. They

planned and produced didactic displays using objects and graphics in keeping with the latest museum practice and made several very creditable dioramas, a complex type of exhibit that had recently become popular. Only occasionally did they request technical help from the Service's expanding central pool of museum specialists. The Mesa Verde Museum matched the best museums in other parks in the quality of its collections, exhibits, and curatorial practice. The self-sufficiency that characterized it caused minimal friction with the central museum establishment because no serious disagreement existed over professional standards or policies. Mesa Verde capped the archeological line of early museum development in the national parks.

Historical Parks

When the National Park Service came into existence in April 1917, the system of 15 national parks and 21 national monuments it administered included only four small areas set aside primarily for their significance in American history (as opposed to prehistory). These were Gran Quivira and Tumacacori, two ruined missions of the Spanish colonial frontier; El Morro, a prominent rock outcrop into which Spanish and Anglo-American travelers of earlier centuries had carved records of their passage; and Sitka, the site of a battle between Russian traders and Alaskan natives. Only three more historic sites were added before 1930: Verendrye in 1917, Scotts Bluff in 1919, and Pipe Spring in 1923. All the historical units were national monuments, for which the Service received very scanty funding. In most cases it could afford neither regular staffing nor development. Only one of the historical areas generated any sort of museum before 1930.

This solitary example was a direct offshoot of the archeological museum line. In 1919 Edgar Lee Hewett obtained a permit to excavate at Gran Quivira National Monument, and his School of American Research continued work there for a number of years. Gran Quivira became a direct responsibility of Frank Pinkley in 1924 when he was designated superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments organization. Both Hewett and Pinkley were strong advocates of site museums as the proper repositories of archeological specimens. The beginnings of a collection were reported in 1925, and by 1929 Gran Quivira had a little museum in operation. In line with Pinkley's concept, its custodian showed and explained the unlabeled and mostly uncased objects to visitors as part of the ruins tour.[55] This modest achievement hardly foreshadowed events that began to unfold the next year.

The Park Service acquired its first responsibility for historical areas east of the Mississippi in 1930. Within three and a half years it had 22 such parks in the East. They brought a range of problems with which the Service

was ill-prepared to cope. The study and practice of historical architecture, an essential tool for the tasks ahead, lacked accepted canons. Historical archeology, which held the answer to crucial questions, scarcely existed as a discipline. The Service did not have a single historian on its staff until 1931, and hardly any historians were trained to deal with historic sites. From the museum standpoint the situation introduced three especially complicating factors: obligatory collaboration with non-governmental organizations having their own interests, objectives, and standards; the need to take over existing museums with unresolved curatorial difficulties; and development and operation of furnished historic structure museums, a fledgling medium new to Service experience. The first venture encountered memorable pitfalls.

A group of patriotic citizens formed the Wakefield National Memorial Association in 1923 for the purpose of "restoring" George Washington's birthplace and the nearby burial ground of his ancestors. The organizers aimed to complete the project in time for the bicentennial of Washington's birth in 1932. Because the government owned the plot of land where the birth house had presumably stood before it was destroyed by fire in 1779, the association obtained authority from Congress in 1926 to build, maintain, and operate a replica of the house on its original site. Fund-raising and architectural planning proceeded, but a second appeal to Congress became necessary as time and money ran out. A 1930 act granted the association $50,000 to help finish construction and landscaping and stipulated that upon completion the property should become part of the national park system as George Washington Birthplace National Monument. The Park Service cooperated in the work until the formal transfer of administration in May 1932.[56] Then it had on its hands a kind of museum for which it had no firm policies. Furthermore, the reconstruction proved to be on the wrong site and to bear little resemblance to the birth house. The fault lay mostly in the state of the arts of historical architecture and historical archeology, but the embarrassment remained. So did the problem of honest interpretation.

The Service owned and operated the museum, but the Wakefield Association continued to exercise responsibility for the furnishings. The house had opened furnished with reproductions. Their replacement with appropriate antique examples began in earnest when Louise du Pont (Mrs. Francis B.) Crowninshield became association president in 1935. The Service was fortunate in this relationship because she proved as knowledgeable in the field of American antiques as her brother, Henry Francis du Pont of Winterthur. While she carried on the slow, costly task of choosing and purchasing items needed to furnish the house, however, the provisional nature of accessions left questions of legal ownership unresolved and postponed effective cataloging. The situation also tended to place policy

decisions regarding the care and security of the furnishings in the hands of the association.[57]

In 1936 the Service began an archeological study of foundations discovered nearby in 1930 after the association had carried its construction project too far, it decided, to turn back. This investigation persuaded nearly everyone that "Building X," rather than whatever had stood on the site of the newly reconstructed building, was Washington's birth house. The excavations provided curator J. Paul Hudson with a multitude of specimens needing to be preserved, recorded, stored, and perhaps exhibited. During the year of his assignment at Wakefield he was able to install a small temporary museum in part of the reconstructed kitchen displaying artifacts from the dig. He also developed plans for more permanent exhibits but had to leave a large backlog of other curatorial work.

Barely six months after authorizing George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Congress took similar action on a much bigger Virginia project, Colonial National Monument (retitled Colonial National Historical Park in 1936). This enactment required the Service to preserve the site of the siege of Yorktown, preserve the unprotected part of the site of Jamestown, and connect both sites with Colonial Williamsburg by means of a parkway. Yorktown received priority because the sesquicentennial of the surrender was almost at hand. A commission was planning the commemoration, which would include a reenactment.

The pressing needs at Yorktown hastened the appointment of the first Park Service historians in 1931. Four men hired that year from the Civil Service register were well prepared to work with historic documents, but artifacts and the features of historic sites presented them with unfamiliar material. Verne E. Chatelain joined the small staff of the Branch of Research and Education in Washington to promote and guide historical enterprise throughout the park system. The other three—William M. Robinson, Jr., B. Floyd Flickinger, and Elbert Cox—were assigned to Colonial National Monument, where they got an immediate taste of curatorial work. For the Yorktown Sesquicentennial they had to handle an exhibition on the national parks involving specimens and models that had to be borrowed and returned.

Robinson became the park superintendent but lacked managerial aptitude and soon left. Flickinger succeeded him as superintendent and held the position through several stormy years until Elbert Cox was recalled to administer the park in 1939. Flickinger's incumbency witnessed much museum activity, in which he took a personal interest.[58] The park was assigned five Civilian Conservation Corps camps, giving it a thousand workers and about fifty technicians. The superintendent had to keep this big emergency relief staff productively busy on park development projects. In this situation he found it expedient to work often without consulting the

Washington headquarters or following established planning and review procedures. Haste and shortcuts tended to deemphasize quality considerations and fostered antagonisms that also characterized Flickinger's relations with the two principal outside organizations particularly concerned with the new park: Colonial Williamsburg and the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

In this contentious atmosphere four noteworthy museum developments took place. The Augustine Moore House, where representatives of the British and Allied armies met to draft the surrender terms in 1781, still stood at Yorktown. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., bought the house for safekeeping until the government could acquire it for the park and had Colonial Williamsburg's architectural restorers spruce up its appearance for the sesquicentennial. Upon acquiring it the Park Service did a more thorough restoration, after which the park became responsible for furnishing it for exhibition. Although Colonial Williamsburg was immersed in its great historic furnishing project and the Moore House fell within the scope of its accumulated expertise, collaboration seems not to have occurred. The park turned instead to various patriotic organizations for help.[59] It persuaded the Daughters of the American Revolution to furnish the surrender room, the Daughters of the Cincinnati to take on the dining room, and the Children of the American Revolution to furnish the family parlor. As at Wakefield these arrangements gave the park minimal control over the selection and placement of the furnishings. The problems remained years later when authentic replication of the historic scene took precedence over aesthetics in cultural resource management policy.

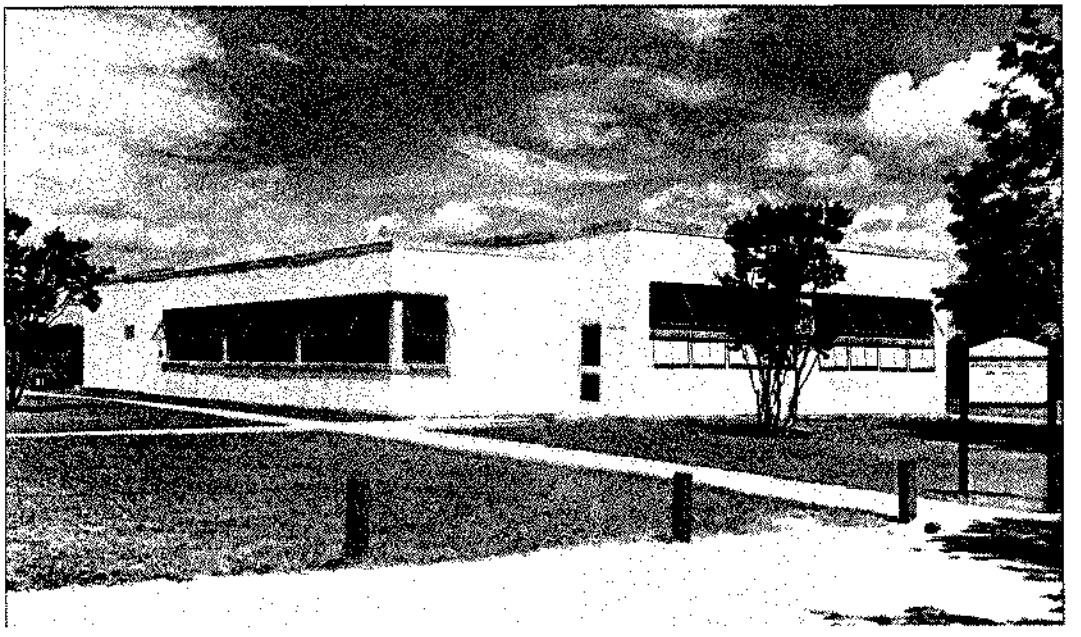
The second museum development came at the reconstructed Swan Tavern. After shifting from one building to another as architectural work in the town proceeded, the park's Yorktown exhibits finally occupied the tavern. The local staff designed and largely prepared them in deliberate independence of the growing professional resources available from the Service's central museum staff. The quality of the exhibits suffered in technical and some other respects, and the competitive rather than cooperative attitude absorbed by park staff lingered as individuals transferred to other areas. On the other hand, the Yorktown museum bore no resemblance to exhibit practices common in local historical museums. It displayed no cluttered mixture of relics but responded to newer concepts that were influencing museums throughout the park system. The Yorktown historians, trained to think of history in narrative terms, set out to use exhibits as a medium for telling visitors the story of the town and siege. They used models, maps, and other graphics to supplement specimens obtained from excavations and plenty of labels, often lengthy. As an important and innovative adjunct to the museum, park technicians converted the interior of the reconstructed Swan Tavern stable to a partial replica,

principally of the gundeck and captain's cabin of one of the British frigates that had sunk in the York River during the siege.[60] This became the setting for material salvaged from the wrecks in a cooperative undertaking with the Mariners Museum at Newport News.

More significantly innovative, the third museum development took place at Jamestown. The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities had owned the upstream end of Jamestown Island since 1893. Its area contained the known remains of the first settlement and included a small museum in the Relic House. In 1934 the Park Service acquired the rest of Jamestown Island and began to probe for further buried evidence of the 17th-century town. The park initially failed to establish a cooperative relationship, and the APVA felt threatened. Then in 1936 Frank Setzler of the Smithsonian Institution encouraged the park to hire Jean C. (Pinky) Harrington, a former architect who had recently earned a Ph.D. in archeology from the University of Chicago. He took over the Jamestown excavations and in the ensuing years contributed very largely to making historical archeology a rigorous and effective field of study. Virginia Sutton, another University of Chicago archeologist who had worked two years at Mesa Verde National Park, joined the project in 1937 (and later became Mrs. Harrington). She added a strong, knowledgeable drive to make the Jamestown program as interpretive as it was scientific. The high board fences that had surrounded the excavations came down, and the public was welcomed to observe and question.

By 1938 the park had erected a temporary but substantial building at Jamestown as an archeological laboratory and storehouse. Harrington and Sutton invited visitors into two small exhibit rooms that provided orientation to the Jamestown story and told what was going on currently in the dig. Afterward they could look through windows into storerooms filled with excavated artifacts and the laboratory where staff were cleaning and recording finds, then go out to watch the excavations in progress. The building remained in use for about 18 years as one of the Service's most effective museums.[61]

Meanwhile during the 1930s the excavations at Jamestown and Yorktown stimulated the fourth aspect of museum activity in the park. Curatorial research, the study of the specimens in museum collections to extract as much knowledge as possible from them, has probably received less emphasis in the Park Service than any other phase of its museum operations. Yet staff members at Colonial, most of them CCC technicians, made a strong start in this direction. Worth Bailey produced nine artifact research papers in 1936-38; his report on Jamestown pewter was among those published.[62] Alfred F. Hopkins and Thor Borresen also prepared reports based on their research, while Harrington contributed importantly to the dating of clay tobacco pipes.



Jamestown Archeological Laboratory and Museum, Colonial National Historical Park, 1938-56. This temporary structure included two small exhibit rooms and a public walkway with view windows into laboratory and collection storage rooms.

Two more examples of museum beginnings in historical parks call for attention. Morristown National Historical Park, authorized by Congress in 1933 and the first area so designated, gave the Service another furnished historic structure museum to develop and administer. Unlike the Washington birthplace reconstruction and the Moore House at Colonial, the Ford Mansion was already venerable as a museum. The Washington Association of New Jersey, another outside organization with which the Service would have to work, had acquired the mansion in 1874 and maintained it for sixty years. The association had filled the house with a valuable collection of furnishings, military artifacts, and Washingtoniana in recognition of its role as George Washington's military headquarters during the winter encampment of the Continental Army in 1779-80. A curator, the niece of an association president, watched over the collection, which included many items outside the proper scope of the new park and a few especially treasured objects of questionable authenticity. The circumstances offered endless opportunities for conflict between the Service and the association. Instead, generally harmonious and fruitful collaboration characterized their relations. This happy state, which still persists, resulted in part from the unusual nature of the association and the caliber of its leadership, but also from the talents of the park's first superintendent, Elbert Cox.[63]

The final example comes from the National Capital Parks. When the Service absorbed the agency administering the federal parks and reserva-

tions in the District of Columbia in 1933, it took over the Lincoln Museum. Recently moved to the Ford's Theatre building, the museum had existed since 1893 in the house across the street where Lincoln died. For most of that time Osborn H. Oldroyd, a Civil War veteran, had operated it as a private museum with himself as curator and custodian. In 1926, at the direction of Congress, a high-level commission bought the collection from Oldroyd for $50,000. Congress acted in spite of a Smithsonian report questioning the collection's historical value, and no one inventoried it at the time of purchase. Oldroyd continually made purchases, solicited gifts, and accepted loans, but also lost items by pilfering and deterioration.[64] The Lincoln Museum forced the Service to deal with an inadequately documented collection of several thousand specimens, including many of limited value, dubious authenticity, and deteriorated condition. The status quo was entrenched in a longstanding tourist attraction. Decades would pass before the Service could take much satisfaction in the curatorial condition of the Lincoln Museum.

The cases cited suggest the pattern of early museum development in the historical parks. While the Service tried with varying success to cope with these new problems, it obtained with the Historic Sites Act of 1935 its first clear legal authority to operate museums.[65] During the same period of these historical accretions the Service was also attaining a measure of curatorial professionalism generated by events centered first at Yosemite National Park.

NOTES

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 397. Hereinafter cited as *Interior Annual Reports for (year).*

2. *Interior Annual Reports for 1904,* pp. 387, 394.

3. O. L. Wallis, "Yosemite's Pioneer Arboretum," *Yosemite Nature Notes* 30, no. 9 (September 1951): 83-85.

4. Joseph Grinnell and Tracy Irwin Storer, *Animal Life in the Yosemite* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1924), pp. v-vi, 2.

5. Grinnell, *Joseph Grinnell's Philosophy of Nature: Selected Writings of a Western Naturalist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943). See particularly "The Methods and Use of a Research Museum" (1910) and "The Museum Conscience" (1921).

6. Grinnell and Storer, *Animal Life in the Yosemite,* p. vi.

7. *Interior Annual Reports for 1915,* pp. 814-15, 853; *Joseph Grinnell's Philosophy of Nature,* p. 38.

8. Hall graduated from the University of California in 1917 with a major in forestry and a reserve commission in the Army Corps of Engineers. While waiting to be called up he got a job as park ranger in Sequoia National Park. He spent a strenuous summer building trails, patrolling, and fighting forest fires. He served in France with a forestry unit for the remainder of the war.

9. Jenks Cameron, *The National Park Service: Its History, Activities and Organization* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1922), p. 17.

10. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1917* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), pp. 12, 14, 253-55. Hereinafter cited as *Report of the Director for (year).*

11. *Report of the Director for 1918,* pp. 49, 73; same for 1919, pp. 30-31; same for 1920, p. 59; National Parks Educational Committee, *Proposed Statement of Objects, July 1918,* Philosophy of Interpretation 1917-47 folder, History of Interpretation 1936-50 box, NPS History Collection, Harpers Ferry Center Library.

12. Cornell University began publication of its nature study leaflets in 1896. Audubon societies formed their national association in 1901. Teacher training authorities organized the American Nature Study Society in 1908. Various museums, such as the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, had been conducting nature study activities for children and adults since the 1890s and earlier.

13. *Report of the Director for 1921,* p. 202. A photograph of the flower display accompanies C. Frank Brockman, "Park Naturalists and the Evolution of National Park Service Interpretation through World War II," *Journal of Forest History* 22, no. 1 (January 1978).

14. Hall, "The Educational Development of Yosemite National Park," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 11 (1920-23): 416; *Yosemite Nature Notes* 1, no. 1: 3; *Report of the Director for 1922,* p. 114. Later Hall valued the collection in the spring of 1922 at between $10,000 and $15,000 (letter to Francis P. Farquhar, Oct. 25, 1926, folder 362, box 70, Carl P. Russell Papers, Washington State University Library).

15. See photographs in *Report of the Director for 1922* and Hall, "The Educational Development of Yosemite National Park."

16. *Yosemite Nature Notes* 1 (July 10, 1922): 4.

17. Ibid. 3 (May 31, 1924): 3-4.

18. "The Educational Development of Yosemite National Park," p. 415.

19. "This idea appealed to me instantly, and I hope that such historical exhibits as may be appropriate to each park may be procured and installed soon. Contributions of objects for the historical collections will be solicited in regions about the parks and among their friends, and full recognition will be given to all who aid in this praiseworthy enterprise" *(Report of the Director for 1921,* pp. 36-37). Mather's final sentence foreshadowed a continuing curatorial problem.

20. *Report of the Director for 1921, p.* 16.

21. Farquhar, "First Ascent of the Middle Palisade," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 11 (1922): 264-70.

22. *Report of the Director for 1921,* p. 213.

23. Hall to Farquhar, Oct. 25, 1926.

24. Letter, Russell to C. Frank Brockman, Dec. 5, 1945, 921.2/zp-7, Yosemite National Park Research Library.

25. *Report of the Director for 1917,* p. 158; same for 1920, p. 265.

26. Superintendent's Monthly Report, September 1922, Sequoia National Park files.

27. Letter, Skinner to Carl P. Russell, Jan. 25, 1932, folder 362, box 70, Russell Papers.

28. *Interior Annual Reports for 1915,* pp. 856, 886.

29. Albright reported "47 exhibits in the igneous rock case, 43 exhibits in the geyserite case, 41 exhibits in the petrified wood case, 2 mounted animal heads, 1 mounted eagle, a case illustrating beaver work and containing 4 exhibits, a contorted tree, 2 specimens of minerals, and 80 exhibits of pressed and dried flowers" as of September 20 *(Report of the Director for 1922,* p. 108).

30. Carl P. Russell, "Scientific Investigations in Yellowstone National Park," mimeograph c. 1933, p. 8.

31. *Report of the Director for 1918,* pp. 157, 180; same for 1922, p. 148.

32. Ronald F. Lee, *The Antiquities Act of 1906* (Washington: National Park Service, 1970), p. 1; Ricardo Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park: An Administrative History, 1906-1970* (Washington: National Park Service, 1970), pp. 5-6.

33. Lee, *Antiquities Act,* pp. 18-19; Sallie Van Valkenburgh, "The Casa Grande of Arizona as a Landmark on the Desert, a Government Reservation, and a National Monument," *The Kiva* 27, no. 3 (February 1962): 11.

34. Letter, Pinkley to Commissioner, GLO, Mar. 1, 1902, ms. addendum to Form Report, typed copy in Casa Grande file, NPS History Collection; letter, Pinkley to Ansel F. Hall, Apr. 18, 1934, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument.

35. Pinkley to Commissioner, GLO, July 23, 1907, Casa Grande Reports, Annual 1902-27, 207-01.4, Record Group 79, National Archives.

36. Letter, R. Rathbun to Secretary of the Interior, Sept. 13, 1907, ibid.

37. Pinkley to Commissioner, GLO, Nov. 4, 1908, ibid.; Lee, *Antiquities Act,* p. 61.

38. *Report of the Director for 1922,* pp. 69, 155.

39. Van Valkenburgh, "The Casa Grande of Arizona," p. 23.

40. Edward P. Alexander, *Museums in Motion* (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1979), p. 165.

41. Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park,* p. 87.

42. Ibid., pp. 119-20. Rickner's nepotism also involved his daughter, who secured the concession for Spruce Tree Camp, the principal accommodation for Mesa Verde's visitors.

43. Letter, Rickner to Rep. Edward T. Taylor, Mar. 25, 1914, cited ibid., p. 65.

44. *Interior Annual Reports for 1915,* p. 856; letter, Rickner to Mather, Sept. 27, 1915, cited hi Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park,* p. 89.

45. Letter, Mather to Rickner, Oct. 20, 1915, cited in Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park,* p. 90.

46. Mather, *Progress in the Development of the National Parks* (Washington: Department of the Interior, 1916), p. 27.

47. Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park,* pp. 92-93. Later Park Service administrators occasionally took similar questionable advantage of interest-arousing specimens within their control, with less excuse after such practices were proscribed by clear standards of curatorial ethics.

48. Memorandum, John A. Hill to Horace M. Albright, September 1917, cited ibid., p. 68.

49. Ibid., pp. 93-94; *Report of the Director for 1919,* p. 31; same for 1920, p. 59.

50. "Park Naturalists and the Evolution of National Park Service Interpretation," p. 29.

51. Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park,* pp. 179-80.

52. Ibid., p. 180.

53. *Report of the Director for 1922,* p. 134; same for 1921, pp. 86, 235.

54. *Report of the Director for 1922, p.* 136.

55. *Report of the Director for 1925,* p. 48; same for 1929, p. 156.

56. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Chapters in the History of Popes Creek Plantation* (Washington: National Park Service, 1968), pp. 139-61.

57. Ibid., pp. 162-63. It was observed as late as about 1960 that Mrs. Crowninshield, apparently after repeated pilfering, had directed the tableware in the reconstructed kitchen to be fastened to the table with screws and wires and relied on her chauffeur to keep the intrusion alarm system for the house in operation.

58. Flickinger, "Historical Methods Used in the Development of Colonial National Monument," paper presented before American Planning and Civic Association, Washington, D.C., Jan. 23, 1936, Colonial National Historical Park box 3, NPS History Collection.

59. Memorandum, Stanley Abbott to Regional Director, Aug. 12, 1958, Moore House folder, Colonial NHP section, Vera Craig Files, Division of Reference Services, HFC.

60. Edward M. Riley, "The History of the Development of Colonial National Historical Park," Apr. 30, 1936, typed report, box 2, Colonial NHP files, NPS History Collection.

61. Interview with Jean and Virginia Harrington by Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., May 18, 1970, transcript in NPS History Collection; Virginia H. Sutton, "Special Report on the Educational Work at Jamestown, Colonial National Historical Park," 1938, Jamestown box, Colonial NHP files, NPS History Collection.

62. Bailey, "Joseph Copeland, 17th Century Pewterer," *Antiques Magazine* 33, no. 4 (April 1938): 188-90.

63. Joseph Fulford Folsom, *History of the Washington Association of New Jersey* (Morristown: Banner Press, 1930), pp. 41-42; transcript of Cox interview by Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., May 7, 1970, p. 21, NPS History Collection; transcript of Cox interview by S. Herbert Evison, March 1971, p. 18, NPS History Collection.

64. George J. Olszewski, *House Where Lincoln Died Furnishing Study* (Washington: National Park Service, 1967), pp. 34-35; James T. Mathews, Jr., *History of the Lincoln Museum* (Washington: National Art Service Co., 1935).

65. Public Law 74-292, U.S. *Statutes at Large* 49: 666.